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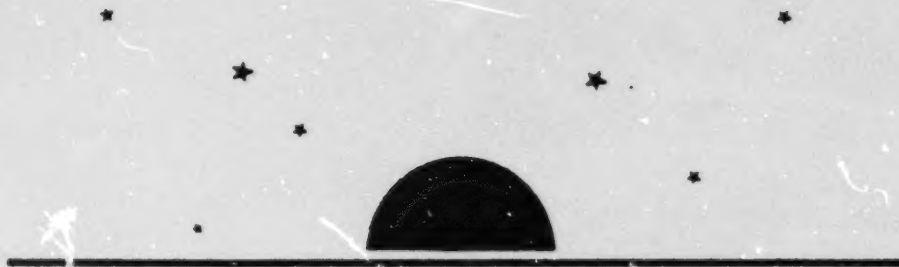
ABSTRACT

Hawaii's history of immigration, language policy, and education are directly related to the issue of bilingual education in its schools today. Beginning with missionary contact, English became the dominant language of the islands, in terms of official policy if not in terms of numerical superiority of English speakers. Until World War II, there existed English language "standard" schools, "nonstandard" schools (which the white community called "pidgin" schools), and Japanese and Chinese language schools. However, with the war came pressures for the abandonment of any "non-American" characteristics, such as foreign languages. After the war, segregated schools ceased to exist. Since Statehood (1959), Hawaii has been concerned with meeting national achievement standards. Thus, although immigrants continue to flow into the State at the rate of 7,000 per year (2,000 of these of school age), Hawaii lags far behind other States in its application for Federal bilingual funds. One of the major reasons for this is the attitude against the use of languages other than standard English which prevails among much of the population. A further barrier to the acceptance of bilingual education is the under-representation of particular minority groups (i.e., Filipino and Hawaiian) in the Department of Education. In a State in which competition for jobs is fierce, language will thus continue to be an important factor in determining economic opportunity. (GC)

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**BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND PUBLIC POLICY IN HAWAII:
HISTORICAL AND CURRENT ISSUES**

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Bilingual Education and Public Policy in Hawaii:

Historical and Current Issues

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Hawaii is the fiftieth state in the nation. It has the highest proportion of foreign-born persons in any state and every ethnic group is a numerical minority. The history of how this came about and the impact it bears on the language situation in the schools and the status/future of bilingual education is offered as the introductory discussion for today's panel.

Hawaii's history is reflected in the statistical presentation of the different ethnic groups since 1853 to 1970.

TABLE 1

The Population of Hawaii, 1853-1970: Ethnic
Composition, Distribution, and Rates of Growth

Years	Total ^a	Hawai- ians ^b	Part Hawai- ians	Caucasians				Other Caucasians	Chinese	Japanese	Koreans	Blacks	American		
				Total Caucas- ians ^c	Puerto Ricans	Portu- guese	Span- iards						Indians	Filipinos	Others
Population															
1853 ^d	23 137	20 036	983	1 667	—	87	—	1 600	364	—	—	—	—	—	67
1860	69 800	65 647	1 337	1 900	—	85	—	1 815	816	—	—	—	—	—	100
1866	67 959	57 125	1 640	2 400	—	90	—	2 310	1 306	—	—	—	—	—	389
1872	56 897	49 044	2 487	2 944	—	424	—	2 520	2 038	—	—	—	—	—	384
1878	57 985	44 048	3 470	3 748	—	446	—	3 267	6 045	—	—	—	—	—	684
1884	89 578	40 014	4 218	16 579	—	9 967	—	5 617	18 254	116	—	—	—	—	1 297
1890	109 990	34 436	6 186	18 919	—	12 719	—	6 220	16 752	12 610	—	—	—	—	1 067
1896	109 020	31 019	8 485	22 438	—	15 191	—	7 247	21 618	24 407	—	—	—	—	1 055
1900	153 001	29 799	7 857	28 819	—	18 272	—	10 547	25 767	61 111	—	233	—	—	415
1910	191 939	26 041	12 506	44 048	4 890	22 306	1 990	14 867	21 674	79 675	4 533	695	—	2 361	376
1920	255 912	23 723	18 027	54 742	5 602	27 002	2 430	19 708	23 507	109 774	4 950	348	—	21 031	310
1930	368 336	22 636	28 724	80 373	6 671	27 588	1 218	44 895	27 179	139 631	6 461	563	—	63 052	217
1940	423 310	23 375	49 935	112 087	8 236	—	—	103 791	28 774	157 905	6 851	255	—	52 569	579
1950 ^e	499 769	17 245	73 845	124 344	9 551	—	—	114 793	32 376	184 598	7 030	2 651	—	61 067	1 618
1960 ^f	612 772	11 294	91 103	202 230	—	—	—	202 230	38 197	203 455	—	4 943	472	69 070	12 002
1970 ^g	768 559	e	71 274	301 429	—	—	—	301 429	52 375	217 669	9 625	7 517	1 218	95 354	12 100
Distribution (%)															
1853	100.00	95.3	1.3	2.3	NA	0.1	NA	2.2	0.5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.1
1860	100.00	94.1	1.9	2.7	—	0.1	—	2.6	1.2	—	—	—	—	—	0.1
1866	100.00	90.7	2.6	3.8	—	0.1	—	3.7	2.1	—	—	—	—	—	0.8
1872	100.00	86.2	4.4	5.2	—	0.7	—	4.4	3.5	—	—	—	—	—	0.7
1878	100.00	76.0	5.9	6.5	—	0.8	—	5.6	10.4	—	—	—	—	—	1.2
1884	100.00	49.7	5.2	20.6	—	12.4	—	8.2	22.7	0.1	—	—	—	—	1.7
1890	100.00	38.3	6.9	21.0	—	14.1	—	6.9	18.6	14.0	—	—	—	—	1.2
1896	100.00	28.4	7.8	20.6	—	13.9	—	6.7	19.8	22.4	—	—	—	—	1.0
1900	100.00	19.3	5.1	18.7	—	11.9	—	6.8	16.7	39.7	—	0.2	—	—	0.3
1910	100.00	13.6	6.5	23.0	2.5	11.7	1.0	7.9	11.3	41.5	2.4	0.4	—	1.2	0.1
1920	100.00	9.3	7.0	21.4	2.2	10.6	0.9	7.7	9.2	42.7	1.9	0.1	—	8.2	0.2
1930	100.00	6.1	7.7	21.8	1.8	7.5	0.3	12.2	7.4	37.9	1.8	0.2	—	17.1	0.1
1940	100.00	5.4	11.8	26.5	2.0	NA	NA	24.5	6.8	37.3	1.6	0.1	—	12.4	0.2
1950	100.00	2.5	14.8	24.9	1.9	—	—	23.0	6.6	36.9	1.4	0.5	—	12.2	0.3
1960	100.00	1.7	14.4	32.0	NA	—	—	NA	6.0	32.2	NA	0.8	0.1	10.9	1.9
1970	100.00	e	9.3	39.2	NA	—	—	NA	6.8	28.3	1.3	1.0	0.2	12.4	1.6

Eleanor C. Nordyke, *The Peopling of Hawaii* (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1977)

Ethnic Distribution Hawaii 1853-1970

Hawaii's history of language use and policy in the schools is of immediate relevance to the discussion of bilingual education in Hawaii. It is at once a focussed perspective and inter-related to other aspects of its history.*

1850's-1900

The goal of the New England clergymen for Hawaii was to raise up "the whole people to an elevated state of Christian civilization." They created a written language for the Hawaiians and translated the Bible and other literature. The first students in mission schools were Hawaiian adults. Later Hawaiian children were enrolled in Hawaiian language schools at the elementary level. English language schools were for higher status Hawaiians, part-Hawaiians and Caucasian (Haole) children. After 1854 the Hawaiian language schools were converted into English schools. "This meant that Hawaiian children would have to be taught in a foreign language (English) and that one of the significant qualifications for teaching was competency in English and in teaching English as a foreign language." By 1900 there were 18,000 Portuguese, 26,000 Chinese and 61,000 Japanese brought to Hawaii as laborers. The pure Hawaiian had decreased. The Caucasian (Haole) English-speaking population constituted about 8,500 or 7.7% of the population. This group controlled the land, the government, the plantation system, the schools and the church.

1900-World War II

With the importation of laborers to work on the plantation, large numbers of Oriental (Japanese and Chinese) children entered the schools. "The Department of Public Instruction maintained its compulsory attendance law, insisted that all instruction be in English and that pidgin be replaced by Standard English and gave first priority to 'Americanizing' all Hawaii youth." Basically there were four types of schools during this period: (a) independent or private Church-run English schools for the elite; (b) government supported "standard" English language schools; (c) government supported "nonstandard" schools; and (d) Japanese and Chinese language schools. "The haole community considered the non-standard schools pidgin schools rather than English schools and as schools that did not meet the standards of American schools . . . nonstandard schools admitted all Island youth without qualification as to English-speaking capability and quickness in the academic procession; the standard schools admitted students on the basis of oral English ability. This gave the children who spoke standard English as their mother tongue an obvious advantage and, therefore, it was no surprise that the standard schools appeared to be a quasi-private system primarily for haoles." By the early 1940's the Japanese language schools enrolled about 80% of all Japanese children. In 1922 the government passed an act to control and ultimately abolish these Japanese language schools. This was ruled unconstitutional by the US Supreme Court in 1927. World War II demanded that all Island children "rid themselves of all 'foreign' characteristics and to be and speak 'American'" These foreign language schools were closed.

Post World War II to 1970

After the war, there was a successful end of the official segregated schools and an effort to "bring the non-standard schools up to the standards in oral English and academic achievement." The actual effect may have been the opposite, i.e. pidgin English may have in fact naturally spread to all classrooms. In 1959, Hawaii became a State. It seems to have fully embraced and accepted the idea that it compete and meet national standards such as the use of standardized aptitude tests given throughout the nation.

*The discussion on the history of Hawaii schools is taken primarily from Ralph Stueber, "Schools and Cultural Assimilation," in Brembeck & Hii'l (Eds.), *Cultural Challenges to Education*, D.C. Heath and Co., 1973.

1970's

In 1965 the amendment to the US Naturalization and Immigration Act was passed. This amendment dramatically increased the number of Asian immigrants and relatives of the plantation laborers who were brought in at an earlier time. Since 1969 approximately 7,000 new immigrants arrive annually. This includes about 2,000 school-age immigrant children each year. Probably the language debate in Hawaii, if there were no amendment, would center around the role of pidgin in bilingual education. Although Hawaii has the highest among the last to apply for bilingual funds. The reasons are many and include: (1) the reaction against the segregated school system based on English language ability, (2) the "need" to exhibit and incorporate loyalty and nationalism, particularly the Japanese segment of the community, and (3) the newness of Statehood and wish to fully participate in the political and economic life of the nation. These attitudes and historical experience may help explain why administrators, policy-makers, educators, parents, teachers are hesitant to support cultural pluralism and bilingual education. The reasons however, do not justify the continuation of this attitude.

Issues in the 1970's and 80's.

Typical of this hesitation and negative attitude toward bilingual education in Hawaii (and elsewhere) are arguments written by a staff member of the Department of Education in 1973 during the discussions on whether or not Hawaii should apply for bilingual funds. His main arguments were: a) "Hawaii is not a multilingual or even a bilingual community ... Administrative and economic language of Hawaii has been English for years" b) "Those who want to advance themselves economically have to master the English language ... those who have clung too strongly to their native language and culture have for the most part been penalized by the dominant group and limited to low-paying menial jobs," c) the dominant language speakers see no reason to learn and use the language of a minority powerless group, d) Hawaii is a bi-dialectical community and teaching pidgin English in the schools is unacceptable to the community which sees it as lower status, e) native language materials and instruction are frequently unavailable in the home country of the immigrant children because of the use of the language of the foreign colonial power, f) learning in the native tongue takes up time particularly if the immigrant child has already mastered it, e) the overall number of non-English speaking students in Hawaii schools number less than 3%. In addition to some glaring factual errors (e.g. there were larger numbers of children who were non-English speaking than 3%), the value premises underlying the argument seem to "blame the victim" and acknowledge without question the need for cultural and language minorities to accommodate to the dominant economic power and the value of cultural homogeneity.

The Lau vs. Nichols case was a timely addition to the arguments in support of bilingual education. In addition it transferred some of the responsibility for adapting/changing away from the immigrant child on to the institution. The institution (teacher, curriculum) was required to respond to the needs of the non-English or limited English speaking child and legitimized their language and ethnic heritage. The empirical question as to whether or not there is a working bilingual program in Hawaii or elsewhere is difficult to answer. Although there is still some question on the reliability of any data, the following data gives some indication of the language situation in the schools. Some researchers and community groups feel that this data may be a low estimate.

TABLE 2

Language Dominance Categories

Language	1	2	3	4	Total
English	6	7	43	36	92
Cantonese	40	82	332	139	593
Mandarin	29	48	108	27	211
Ilocano	370	335	1,216	1,118	3,309
Tagalog	41	62	173	149	425
Visayan/Cebuano	10	42	102	59	213
Hawaiian	27	11	46	17	101
Japanese	63	68	249	168	648
Korean	153	191	443	179	966
Samoa	181	188	705	341	1,415
Vietnamese	43	100	245	68	456
*Other	121	187	370	236	914
Total	1,085	1,321	4,032	2,637	9,075

*OTHER category: Arabian, Burmese, Cambodian, Chabacano, French, Fuxienese, Chamorro (Guamanian), Hakka, Hindu, Indian ?!, Indonesian, Kapampangan, Laotian, Lithuanian, Marshallese, Palauan, Pangasinan, Punjabi, Spanish, Swedish, Thai, Tokelau, Tongan and Turkish.

LANGUAGE DOMINANCE CATEGORIES:

1. Monolingual (language other than English)
2. Dominant language other than English
3. Bilingual (English and another language)
4. Dominant English

SOURCE: State of Hawaii Department of Education, "Ethnic and Language Survey," March 1977.

1977 Language Dominance Distribution State of Hawaii Department of Education

There are many unresolved questions as to whether or not the programs for non and limited English speaking children in Hawaii are adequate. These questions have been raised and will continue to be raised by concerned immigrant parents, ethnic community groups and the Office of Civil Rights.

In addition to the public debate surrounding bilingual education in Hawaii are discussions on the role of pidgin English in the schools. These discussions revolve around very basic questions such as whether or not it would be appropriate to include it in a systematic, positive way in the curriculum, whether or not to ignore it, whether or not to include it in a bilingual program etc. These questions have a significant bearing on the language situation in Hawaii.

A topic that is closely related to the language policy question in Hawaii schools is the area of affirmative action in the staffing of the Department of Education. Some ethnic minority groups (e.g. Filipino and Hawaiian) are grossly underrepresented in the teaching and administrative staff of the schools. A related concern is that children of these ethnic groups (who are excluded in other important areas of the community's decision-making and economic areas) are the groups that do "poorly" in the most standard listing of educational performance.

TABLE 3

ETHNIC REPRESENTATION IN HAWAII'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS			
	State Population*	Teachers**	Students***
Caucasian	39.2%	18.7%	30.4%
Japanese	28.3%	57.9%	22.8%
Filipino	12.4%	2.1%	16.8%
Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian	9.3%	6.9%	17.4%
Chinese	6.3%	8.8%	4.8%
Korean	1.3%	1.3%	1.4%
Black	1.0%	.3%	1.3%
Other	1.8%	3.6%	5.1%

*1970 Census. However, because many part-Hawaiians who do not have Hawaiian last names were not counted as part-Hawaiians, some statisticians claim that Caucasians should be about 31 percent, Chinese about 5 percent, and Hawaiians/part-Hawaiians about 17 percent.

**Teachers, counselors, registrars, school librarians as of June 1974.

***Regular students as of June 1975.

Tom Kaser, "Hawaii's Schools: An Ethnic Survey," *Integrated Education*, May-June 1977, vol XV, no. 8.

Ethnic Representation in Hawaii's Public Schools

The Bakke decision and the fierce competition for jobs, particularly for teaching jobs in Hawaii, make affirmative action policies and implementation unsatisfactory for these groups now excluded. Illustrative of the barriers to affirmative hiring in the schools is a clause in the union contract that "gives first priority for vacant positions to those already in service as educational officers." This clause effectively continues to exclude those ethnic groups currently underrepresented in the administrative staff of the Department of Education. There are no easy solutions. The only certainty is that the chances for advancement and participation in Hawaii educational system is not equal among the many ethnic groups in the Hawaii community.

The factors that work against having a well-supported bilingual program in Hawaii schools and in the community-at-large are varied. Some attitudes that may be considered very influential in this debate are: anti-immigrant feelings, an anti-population growth attitude and a set of attitudes that sees utility in conforming to the language and culture of the political and economically dominant group. These attitudes are held by adults, children, local-born and immigrant in varying degrees. The following two quotes are from a survey conducted among Hawaii youth in 1975:

Hawaii born female student:

Immigrants are ignorant they act so stupid mostly the boys, so wise they need one slap on the head, cause they act so rough. Ya make them go back where they came from, cause they sure don't belong here besides they wasn't even born here. The people that was born here has more of a right to stay here but the immigrants don't. They come over here and act like own the place. If I was the president I would send every immigrant back to where they came from even the damn haoles. They take up all the jobs and make this whole island over populated. Pretty soon not going to have room for everybody so I hope they send the immigrants wherever they came from.

Immigrant Filipino student:

Yes, because I'm an immigrant and I get along with local students and what I think the immigrant should do is to dress the way locals do, speak English all the time, be very friendly, stick around with them and not staying with your own nationality. Do the lifestyle of the locals. When you get into a fight don't use weapons like knife, belt, gun, and others and fight fair and not have your friend involved. I think you should let the locals be higher rank than you are and let them accept you. I have been living here for five years and I act like locals and I don't want to consider myself as P.I. (a word used to refer to immigrant Filipinos) I feel ashamed of my own nationality.

These quotations can be translated into important public statements and also justification for opposing bilingual education. Last year there were legislative bills and public official statements that would require residency periods (such as one year) in order to qualify for jobs and welfare. There are also discussions on amending the US Immigration Act to curb foreign immigration. These attitudes and public statements are directed also to the migrants to Hawaii from the continental USA. The quotation from the immigrant child echoes the argument presented earlier against a bilingual program: "Those who want to advance themselves economically have to master the English language . . . those who have clung too strongly to their native language and culture have for the most part been penalized by the dominant group and limited to low-paying menial jobs."

The strongest argument to off-set these anti-immigrant (and the language and culture they bring with them) seems to require an economic and political argument:

1. The whole State is benefitted by the labor and talent of the immigrant and ethnic minority members (they perform jobs that add to the economy and generally in areas the dominant group do not seek, e.g. the tourist service industry which is a major industry for Hawaii; or in areas that have a shortage e.g. nurses, and they pay taxes etc.).

2. Diversity of language and culture in Hawaii is an economic resource because of the State's heavy reliance on the tourist industry. Hawaii is an attractive tourist location because of its geography, climate and because of its cultural diversity. Hawaii should encourage and support cultural diversity because it is an economic resource.
3. The cost of bilingual programs and related programs are economical in the long-run if they successfully educate and produce a productive literate citizenry (i.e. in comparison to social cost such as delinquency, crime, mental illness, welfare, etc.?)
4. The major problem is not population growth but the unequal distribution of resources and wasteful uses of resources.
5. In the history of minority-majority group politics, "concessions" are given to the minority group if they are politically vocal and have resources. Much of the impetus for equal rights and the interpretation in the Lau vs. Nichols case have come because of political pressure. In Hawaii where each ethnic group is a numerical minority, the currently excluded ethnic minorities can, and I predict, will play a crucial and exciting role.